THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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HOW THE RED ARMY FIGHTS.

TOLD BY AN AMERICAN FROM ARCHANGEL.

A Russian-American, writing in the *Novy Mir* of New York, explains that he lived in Michigan State, U.S.A., and was taken as a conscript for the American Army. He was sent with the 339th Michigan Regiment to England and from there to Russia, the soldiers not being told their destination.

THE SOLDIER'S STORY.

NO STORES TO GUARD AT ARCHANGEL.

"We landed at Archangel. We found there English and French soldiers. Before we landed we were told that we came to Russia not to fight her, but merely to safeguard the Allied ammunition stores. Yet no ammunition was found there; the Bolsheviki had carried away with them everything to the south—they cleared the place of everything to the last shell and cartridge. Only empty stores have remained.

Our readers will remember that one of the reasons given for sending British troops to Russia was to prevent stores of ammunition falling into German hands. The soldier continued:—

"'What are we to do here, then?' we began to question ourselves and our officers. The officers were silent. Others said: 'The future will show.' The first day passed quietly. The plan was to organise a military parade through the city. Rain torrents caused the parade to be postponed. We scattered around and stood under awnings in order to protect ourselves against the rain. I found myself under a cover of a storeroom which was in course of construction and I started a conversation with the workers busy at it. 'How are things going?' I asked them. The workers in astonishment looked at me—a foreigner who speaks Russian. Their faces betrayed apprehension: 'What sort of man is he?' —may be a spy. I calmed them, stating that I was a Russian, their countryman. We started a lively conversation.

GOOD TIMES UNDER BOLSHEVIKI ADMINISTRATION BANISHED BY ALLIES.

I found out that 'under the Bolsheviki' they had lived much better, they had bread and their earnings had been larger. As soon as the English came—said one of them—everything came to grief; no bread and poor earnings.

"Later I convinced myself of the truth of their words. The English indeed had seized everything there; in a dictatorial manner ruled the territory occupied by the Allied troops. The population hates them, as one can hate foreign invaders. The attitude of the Russians towards the Americans is considerably better.

"But let us return to what followed. A few days after our arrival at Archangel we received orders to march south. 'Where?' we asked. 'To the front,' was the answer. There you are! So we have a front here, too, and we came here to fight and not to safeguard something.... The order is given and we have to obey. We were loaded into freight trains and then we started. I do not remember how long we were on the way. Days there are short and dark, nothing can be seen from the train. Finally, we stopped. We discovered we were at the station Oboserska.

BOLSHEVIKI RETREATED TO AVOID SLAUGHTER: PAMPHLETS INSTEAD OF GUNS.

We saw no Bolsheviki. Later we found out that the Bolsheviki were retreating to the south, and not because they feared our forces, but merely because they wished to avoid slaughter.

"At one place, south of the station Oboserska, we, instead of meeting the bayonets of the Soviet troops, came across a train loaded with proclamations in English, French, Italian and other languages. In these proclamations the Bolsheviki explained the nature of the intervention and advised us to get home. The proclamations were speedily distributed. Later our officers got wise about it and seized them, burning them immediately."

WE HAVE DONE NO HARM TO YOU, SO GO BACK TO YOUR HOMES.

"During the whole of my stay at the front I observed the new Bolshevist methods of warfare. The Bolsheviki did not harm us, although on several occasions they could have shot us down as so many partridges. Once, while we were crossing a river, a man came forward from the

OCCUPIED AND UNOCCUPIED.

Bolshevist side with a white flag and speaking in English he told us that we were being misled, that we ought to leave the Russian territory and the Russian people at peace. 'You have come here to fight us, and not we to fight you; we have done no harm to you, so go back to your homes.' There were also other such instances. We are surrounded on all sides by the Bolsheviki, so that there is no way out of it. We are doomed, we think. But it is not so. They would keep us a day or two and then let us go free unharmed.'

NO TRENCHES: A TERRIBLE COUNTRY TO FIGHT IN.

"Only once they treated us to machine gun and field gun fire—and indeed, at that time there was no way out of it. There are no trenches, because one cannot dig in the frozen ground. Everywhere are marshes, and one stands almost to the waist line in water. We hid behind barricades made of logs. But of course it is a poor defence. When a shell strikes such a barricade nothing but splinters remain.

"During this 'meeting' I was wounded. I was sent to England and thence I came here."

NEWS FROM SOUTH WALES. By F. P. N.

ANTI-SANKEY REPORT

A Delegate Conference of the S.W.M.F. held at Cardiff on Monday, March 31st, decided to recommend the miners to vote against the adoption of the recent settlement based upon Sankey's Report, and it was only due to the obstinate constitutionalism of Mr. Brace, M.P., president, that the conference did not refuse to have anything to do with the ballot at all. The Conference showed that the rank and file are not at all satisfied with the result of the recent settlement, and the objection to the Sankey Report as a basis for negotiation was keenly felt.

Mr. Noah Ablet intimated, but failed to give any direct lead, that the best course would be to fix upon a certain day when the men would cease work at the completion of six hours. Provided the M.F.G.B. as a national body decided on these lines this would undoubtedly be the best course, for in spite of Smillie's opinion to the contrary, the miners' right is in their might. The fight in front of the miners necessitates an undivided front and sectional action will weaken the organisation at a time when strength and unanimity are of the greatest importance; but, on the other hand, if the Executive of the M.F.G.B. makes it difficult for the rank and file to take immediate action on any particular question, the Executive alone will be responsible for any sectional uprising that may result in the discarding of constitutional rights.

DOWLAIS DISPUTE.

For six weeks the Dowlais men have withheld their labour, and at Saturday's Delegate Conference, the question was up for discussion. The miners of Dowlais are now virtually "locked out," because the coalowners refuse to allow the men to work on the terms settled upon by W. Cook of the Coal Control. One of the chief points in dispute is that the men claim the right to admit the coal washery workers as members of the S.W.M.F. The washery is situated some six miles from the pits, and in consequence, the management claim it is not part of the coalmining industry and on that ground refuse to admit the washery men as members of the S.W.M.F. The real bone of contention is that as members of the Federation instead of the Workers' Unions, the washery men are entitled to higher rates of wages and better working conditions all round. This dispute is not alone a Dowlais dispute, but is applicable to the whole coalmining industry and will come to the fore especially with the increasing development of the by-product plant connected with the mines. This question has much to do with the principle of Industrial Unionism, and all future like disputes should be guided by the principle that these subsidiary industries are a part of the coalmining industry. In the case of the washeries it is definitely so, for the process of washing the coal is a stage of preparation for the market. The Dowlais men claim, too, that at one time the washeries were situated adjacent or close to other pits that have long since ceased to work.

The result of the Delegate Conference on Saturday, March 29th was an unanimous decision to give the coalowners seven days to settle the dispute, and failing settlement by that time action to be taken by South Wales. Great was the feeling for a "down tools" policy. At the time of writing a settlement has not been reached, so the next few days will decide the fate of the Dowlais men. Even if this dispute is settled satisfactorily, the difficulty is by no means ended, and it is up to the miners to tackle the question once and for all and lay down certain general principles that may guide the S.W.M.F. in matters of this kind for the future. I should suggest that the C.L.C. students in South Wales discuss the question of organisation by Industry in relation to the coalmining industry.

TEACHERS RETURN TO WORK.

After a month's holiday the Rhondda teachers resumed work on Tuesday, April 1st, on the understanding that the Educational Committee negotiate the points at issue within a month. If at the end of that period a settlement is not forthcoming, the teachers, without re-tendering their notices, will automatically cease work on April 30th. It is a disgrace to think that the teachers have been on strike for a month—for what? For the right of having their grievances negotiated upon. They have achieved neither of their demands, and if the Educational Committee (consisting of a few Labour men, too) refuse to accede to the requests of the teachers, then a deadlock will arise on April 30th. We wish the teachers every success in their desire to live as human beings should live.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

Do you know, Henry, I am beginning to feel neglected? First Queen Mary went to Brady Street without calling on me for a cup of tea, and now the Prince of Wales has been and gone admiring the scenery in Tabard Street, and none so poor as to do me reverence. I am beginning to feel some considerable draught round my district.

Here am I, a respectable taxpayer (when I am in employment) supporting the whole Royal Family, but not one of my friends of Buckingham Palace has come round to inquire how I am getting on with my unemployment donation. You must know that I am well acquainted with all of them. I am disgusted with the ignorance of the press on the subject. We are told that the Prince of Wales actually spoke to some of the Tabardites, as if it was an accomplishment. In fact every little thing he did was put down in type, and just to show he was a human being, there was a photo of our *dear* Prince walking on his own legs.

I have called him "dear" because he gets the neat little sum of about £90,000 from his estates as Duke of Cornwall. That is a moderately large amount for a modest and retiring young man, who has no vices to speak of. He does not, so far as I know, indulge in baccarat, like his grandfather used to in the prehistoric past. So we may presume he has put it in the Post Office Savings Bank, or perhaps in Peace Bonds.

It is quite possible, however, he may have given away part of it to the Tabard Street citizens, in order to help them pay a needy landlord. If the Prince is acting up to the words of the Good Book, and giving to the poor, may I draw attention to THE DREADNOUGHT Appeal? The Editor is only asking for a modest thousand, and that would leave His Highness the decent sum of £89,000 to live on with food at the price it is.

A Cabinet Minister manages to live on a paltry £5,000 a year, not counting Marconi shares, so if the Prince could manage that, he would still have £80,000 odd left over. That would keep about 55,000 out-of-works for a week at 29*s.* a head. Or, if you prefer the venerable Henry Dubbs, it would pay 5*s.* to 320,000 Old Age Pensioners for one week.

Or, putting it another way, 500 men earning £3 a week get as much in a year as His Highness has left over after paying £12,000 to THE DREADNOUGHT funds. Which latter, I doubt he will do.

Now, most men would be content to drag out a miserable existence on £1,500 a week; but your Prince of Wales is no Henry Dubb.

"The Prince of Wales is just your age,
Together you will grow up;
He'll soon want money and a wife;
Don't, when the time comes, blow up
His marriage grant, however great
Or heavy on the nation;
This stinting princes is the worst
Of vulgar declamation."

To put it in hard cash, the Prince will draw a cheque from a grateful public when his eye has settled on Mrs. Prince-to-be, to the modest tune of £10,000. And the grateful workers of another nation may be asked to cough up a like amount as war bonus for their princess.

Royalty needs no trade union to protect its rights and ask for a six-hour day. Nor does the nation find it "impossible" to meet the extortionate demands of blue-blooded workers of the House of Windsor (formerly Wettin or Guelph).

We cannot pay too well those who, out of kindness of heart, consent to govern us—at the cost of a couple of hundred Cabinet Ministers. The British workers have always been thoroughly incapable of governing themselves. Which is why we have had first William the Norman, then William his son, Henry, Stephen, Henry, then Richard and John. And all the rest of them, including that good Englishman William of Orange (Holland) and George of Hanover (Germany). You will also remember Prince Albert the Good, who came from Saxe-Coburg with his friends the Dukes of Albany, Cumberland, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Teck (Queen Mary's people), and the family of Battenberg (now Mountbatten). Then we have Lord Milner, the Rothschilds, Sassoons, Cassels, Brunner-Monds, Harland-Woolfs, Isaacs of Marconi fame, and more and more and more.

The moral of this, Henry, is that a capitalist is a capitalist, no matter whether Jew or Gentile, Jap or German, Russian or Prussian, alien or home-made. A capitalist will make money out of anybody; so long as there is profit to be made he doesn't give a red cent where it comes from, whether niggers or Henry Dubbs.

And the moral also works the other way, that a worker is a worker, a Henry Dubb is a Henry Dubb, white, black, yellow, hook-nose or flat. It does not matter if one Henry Dubb works less hours and feeds on beef and beer, whilst another sweats all day and smells of garlic and Spanish onions. They are both wage-slaves: and very often, though living a thousand miles apart, they are slaves to the same boss. And to prove this I need only quote an anti-Socialist argument that if the workers ask for too much, "the capitalist will take his capital abroad."

The Prince of Wales may be a Bolshevik in disguise and ready to start the Revolution in Tabard Street. But my opinion is expressed in the kind of things he found in one house there. And that is—Rats!

THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE REPORT.

The bigwigs of the "Provisional Joint Committee" appointed by the so-called "National Industrial Conference" have presented their report. After a month's deliberation they have decided to shelve most questions by recommending that they shall be referred to other committees. The bigwigs have been very careful not to commit themselves to any advanced or daring proposals, and in most cases have avoided being definite.

They have broken this general rule by recommending an 8-hour day, but that is, after all, such a very hoary proposal that there is nothing adventurous about it. They suggest that if the representatives of the employers and employed agree to increase or decrease the working day, this may be done by Government Order if the Government has "no reason to deem it contrary to the public interest." If the request for an alteration comes from one party only, either the employers or employed, the Ministry may call a Conference—the usual expedient for delay. "In the event of a substantial agreement being reached" an Order may be made as above. But suppose there is no agreement, what is to happen? Overtime the committee recommends shall be paid for at time and a quarter—the lowest sum recognised by trade unions. The committee shirked the question of pay for night shift, Sunday and holiday work, and shelved it for someone else to inquire into.

MINIMUM TIME-RATES OF WAGES

were recommended for legal enactment, a Commission of Employers' and Trade Union representatives, with a Chairman appointed by the Government to be appointed within three months to decide what the rates should be and Wages Boards to be established in less organised trades. We have seen by the Coal Inquiry the result of such Commissions; three reports are certain to be brought and then the Government chooses to introduce legislation on the lines suggested by the chairman it has appointed, whose report is, doubtless, made in accordance with the views of the Government! The phrase "minimum time-rates of wages" and the suggestion that some of the rates should be fixed by the Wages Boards, plainly show us that these minimum wages will not change the workers' position by one iota. The old system by which brush drawers are supposed to need to eat and wear less than cabinet makers or Members of Cabinets will still continue. To-day we find widows, whose wages are fixed by Wages Boards, unable to maintain their children on their earnings, and obliged to crave Poor Law Relief to assist them in making ends meet. The workers will still only get such advances as they are able to obtain by the threat of a strike and the very object of these Committees and Commissions is to induce them to compromise and delay. That the people who are supposed to represent the workers on this Committee have agreed to these recommendations, is a proof that the Government's efforts to stop action by the workers are to a certain extent successful.

It is proposed that the Court of Inquiry under the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act shall determine whether the war advances should become permanent or lapse with war conditions.

MORE MACHINERY IS SUGGESTED FOR PREVENTING TRADES DISPUTES.

There is to be "machinery for protection of the employers' interests where members of trade unions or workpeople are engaged in positions of trust or confidentiality, provided the right of such employees to join or remain members of any trade union is not thereby affected." Does that mean that an employee who discloses to his trade union the amount of profit made by his employer is to be punished? That would be a very serious matter.

Unemployment is beyond the Committee's courage to make a decision. It prefers to hand over that responsibility to some other committee, but it recommends "organised short time" to avoid unemployment. Since it does not stipulate that wages are to be maintained at their pre-war standard, we can only conclude that the Committee is recommending short rations for the workers as well as short time in periods of trade depression. It is also recommended that the Government should postpone work that is not urgent to seasons of unemployment, in order that the influx of Government work at that time may "stabilise" employment. The people who concoct these reports always try to produce the impression that they are great magicians in the art of organising the workers, though they are for the most part timidly incapable of an original thought. The Committee ventures however to suggest that the Government should not only postpone work, but should at this juncture provide work: housing, afforestation, reclamation of waste lands, development of inland waterways, light railways and roads. The Committee refrains from mentioning the national factories and shipping that the Government has disposed of; but perhaps such references would have been considered offensive.

Maintenance.—The Committee suggests "more adequate" maintenance for the unemployed and some maintenance for the under-employed. The position is this: employers of labour find it suits their business to employ the workers irregularly, it is convenient to employ a large number of workers at certain seasons and for the rest of the year either to dismiss a part of them altogether, or to employ them for part time only. The Committee suggests that this system should be extended but that the worker shall be saved from too much suffering and deterioration by being subsidised by the State at the time when the employer has no use for him. No Committee seems bold enough to suggest that the employer should be responsible for paying a regular wage to the workers he employs! The worker will never have an assured subsistence whilst capitalism continues.

On the *employment of married women and widows* the Committee was "unable to express an opinion," but asked for a special inquiry. The age for *child labour* the Committee thinks should be raised, but did not commit itself definitely; it also asked for an inquiry into *Old Age Pensions.*

A National Industrial Council of employers and employed was doubtless the thing that the Committee was really set up to recommend and it did whatever was expected of it. It proposed a Council of 400 members, half representing the employers' organisations; half the trade unions. The Council to be advisory and the Minister of Labour its president. The Council to meet "at least twice a year," a standing committee to do the actual work and to consist of 25 employers' representatives and 25 trade union representatives, a president appointed by the Government and a vice-president apiece for employers and employed. The Council to advise the Government on labour legislation to consider measures for joint or several action to anticipate or avoid threatened disputes, "and to issue statements for the guidance of public opinion on industrial issues." This last is really a danger. We are capitalist press ridden, we have the Ministry of Propaganda, and now we are to have veiled anti-Socialist propaganda from an industrial Council!

Arthur Henderson and G. D. H. Cole have added a Memorandum to the Report on 'The Causes and Remedies of Industrial Unrest.' It is by no means a striking document: it asks, amongst other things, for a graduated levy on capital with an exemption on property up to £1,000. The exemption of property up to £1,000 does not make any special appeal to the weekly wage earner! The absurd request is made for "a drastic change in the attitude of Government Departments and Employers towards Labour"!

IN AN ENGLISH PRISON.

The following is a detailed and accurate account of treatment accorded me at Wandsworth Prison on the 2nd and 3rd of January :—

On Thursday, January 2nd, at dinner time, as a protest against a statement made by the chief warder, that the C.O.s not on strike were enjoying privileges won by our comrades who were, and that we, the non-strikers were hiding behind the strikers' backs, being afraid to endure the punishment to which our comrades were subjected, I smashed my cell windows, furniture, pots and pans, and declared myself on work and hunger strike. After dinner two warders entered the cell and pushed me outside on to the landing rails, where I was seized by about five others. I was then frog-marched along the landing being kneed in the back at every few steps by an officer named ——, who was also half strangling me, and punched in the back of my head by another named —— I also received a few kicks, not very severe, but could not ascertain who was responsible for them. In this manner we arrived at a flight of steps leading on to a lower landing. Here an attempt was made to hurl me headlong, but managing to grasp a rail I averted this. I was then marched as before to the top of steps leading to D 1 landing, where a second attempt was made to hurl me headlong.* The warder ——, himself sustaining a nasty spill in his endeavour to hurl me down, I was here again able to grasp a rail and so landed at the bottom on my feet. Arriving in punishment cell after having been pushed into many obstructions, I was placed in a body-belt and left till tea-time, when one hand was released to enable me to eat my tea. This I refused to do, so the cuff was again locked. At bedtime my bed was made by a convict. I was then left for the night. About 10 A.M. on Friday, the 3rd, I was taken before Dr. Pitcairn, the senior medical officer, who informed me that I was a lunatic, and that I should be treated as such. I was then taken to the padded room and placed in a straight jacket. At dinner-time my dinner was brought in, together with a convict to feed me. I again refused to take any food, but asked to be allowed to make water, as I had been many hours without having done so. I was told I must wait till after dinner, but it was not till nearly 3 P.M. that an officer brought a convict to me for this purpose. By this time I was experiencing very much pain from the straight jacket which appeared to me to be strapped much too tight and was cramping my shoulders, and preventing me breathing freely. The convict I found was to hold a chamber to me and do those things necessary which, owing to my hands being confined, I was unable to do myself. Under these circumstances I found it impossible to ease myself. I was then left until tea-time, when, having refused to eat, I complained of the pain I was experiencing and asked if the straps could be slackened a little. I was told to ask the doctor if this could be done, when he visited me between 6 and 8. He arrived about 7 P.M., and I at once complained to him and asked could he have the jacket removed or eased a little, as I was in great pain. He replied that I was not responsible for my actions, being a lunatic, and that it was unsafe to allow me out of the jacket. I pointed out to him that there was no question of insanity in the case, that what I had done had been done deliberately and as a protest against an unjust and false statement. Saying that if I acted as a lunatic, I must be treated as one and giving orders that I be given a chance to make water, he left me. Some time later on an officer came and asked if I wished to make water, but remembering my previous experience and being in great pain otherwise I said "No." I walked up and down the cell for some time, and finally flung myself on to a mattress which had been placed in a corner, hoping to obtain some relief thereby. I remained so for some time, when the pain in my shoulder, stomach and back becoming so severe, I sought to regain my feet. After many efforts I was able to do this, and at once felt an urgent desire to visit W.C. I called aloud to the warder for some time and when he at last came to the door, I told him what I required. He replied telling me to shut up and do anything I wanted to do in my clothes as I stood, the same as others had to do. Telling him I was not a beast, how impossible it was to do as he suggested, and appealing to him to be reasonable, I was still unsuccessful in obtaining anything but his absence. I continued to call after him for some time until I began to vomit. After the fit of vomiting, during which I was successful in ejecting a little bile, the desire to visit W.C. somewhat abated. I once more fell on to the mattress, until the pain and cold once more forced me to struggle to my feet. In this manner I spent the night, alternately lying and walking, but always in great pain. About 7.15 A.M. I was released from jacket to wash, all my clothes but my shirts and socks being taken from me.

Breakfast and a chamber were then left in the cell with me. I enjoyed about half or three-quarters of an hour's freedom from the jacket, which was again placed upon me, and from which I was finally released about 10.30 A.M. I was in all about 20 hours in the body belt and about twenty-three and a half in the straight jacket, with only the brief respite at breakfast time mentioned above. I made no complaint to the Governor regarding the above, knowing it to be useless to do so. I was released from Wandsworth on the 9th after a hunger strike of seven days.

P. L. WELLS.

Declared at Lennox House, Norfolk Street, in the City of Westminster this 15th day of January, 1919.

Before me ALFRED BAKER,
A Commissioner for Oaths.

* These were spiral staircases.

ROADS TO FREEDOM.* By Lancelot Hogben.

There is perhaps no writer of academic eminence in our own country whose excursions into Socialist teaching are sufficiently conversant with the data to merit serious consideration or criticism. Nevertheless, those who, acquainted with 'Principia Mathematica,' 'Sense Data and Physics,' 'The Notion of Cause,' &c., entertain a high respect for Mr. Russell's judgment as a philosopher, can hardly feel that his reputation for sound thinking has been enhanced by the publication of 'Roads to Freedom.' Indeed, it is difficult to comprehend what induced him to publish such a hasty collection of essays.

The first essay, entitled 'Marx and Socialist Doctrine,' is naturally the most arresting to a Socialist whose sympathies are of the "left"; for, since Marx claimed to have established the foundation of a *scientific communism*, and to have given to the world the outlines of a social philosophy for the proletariat, it is just there that we should expect Mr. Russell, with his astute appreciation of scientific method, to be most careful and rigid in his critique. As a matter of fact, Mr. Russell is in this part of his treatment significantly indolent. "Two questions," says the author, "are raised by Marx's work. First, are his laws of historical development true? Second, is Socialism desirable?" In reply to the first, he follows with a list of alleged predictions on the part of Marx (no references cited) and highly disputable statements with respect to contemporary economic conditions. Now, in all seriousness, Mr. Russell is sufficiently acquainted with scientific method to know that it is mere journalism to dispose of a whole body of doctrine by pointing out detailed mistakes on the part of those who formulate it; and still further, that even if all the facts do not appear to fit into any particular scheme, the scientist accepts that interpretation which suits the greatest number, until some alternative working hypothesis has been advanced. And that is just the present position of Marxism. Until Marx's time history was studied with open casuistry, intellectual aimlessness, and total failure to correlate the phenomena with which it dealt. It may be said that Marx made mistakes; and a genuine Marxian has certainly too little faith in hero worship to deny it. But the value of the materialist conception of history does no more stand and fall with two paragraphs of Marx's errors than does the Periodic Law in chemistry because two of the elements do not fit into Mendeljeff's Tables. At least it might be hoped that one who is in a position to appreciate the complete failure of the orthodox historians to reduce their study to an exact science, would in justice to the memory of a bold and original thinker recognise that while the academic sociologists of our time are wallowing in animistic habits of thought and blinded by social bias, Marx more than half a century ago conceived the study of human institutions as a science rather than a cult.

But that is the least objection to Mr. Russell's attack upon Marxism. He is mainly concerned with the second question. And with singular attention to the convention of consistency he first ridicules Marx for having no constructive ideas at all, and then quarrels with him because he disagrees with the constructive theories of some of his (posthumous) followers. On p. 42 we read: "Marx allows one moment's glimpse of the hope that lies beyond the present horror." Thereafter follows a paragraph cited from 'Das Kapital,' in which Marx could not by the most subtle jesuistry be pinned down to any particular theory of Socialist organisation. Yet only four pages later there is the declaration: "Syndicalism represents an attack against it from without, from the standpoint of a doctrine which professes to be even more radical and more revolutionary than that of Marx or Engels." Later on in the essay on 'The Syndicalist Revolt' we are informed that "the C.G.T. is mild in comparison with the I.W.W." Now Mr. Russell knows well that the idea of self-government in industry is as old as Robert Owen; he admits that Marx did not set out to elaborate a precise scheme of Socialist organisation; he further asserts that the American Industrial Unionists, whose teachings from Daniel De Leon onwards are founded on Marxian theory, are more syndicalist than the French syndicalists; and then curiously assures us that "Syndicalism represents an attack....which professes to be even more radical and revolutionary than Marx." Well, what about it? Actually Marxian teaching has more to do with the emergence of the idea of self-government in industry to-day than the teachings of armchair philosophers like Sorel. It was in the soil of Marxism that militant industrial unionism grew up in America; it was from America that it was carried to Australia, while the French school was still in its infancy; it was from Australia that it migrated to England with the Syndicalist Education League in the day of the great strikes and the N.U.R.—and that was before French syndicalism was becoming fashionable for Fabian malcontents and long after the S.L.P. started its work up in the North.

We may be excused, then, if we say that it is of some consolation to turn back to the Introduction and read: "It would have been even more difficult than it has been to bring the work to completion amid the pressure of unavoidable business, but for the assistance of my friend Mr. Hilderic Cousens, who has supplied me with facts on many points which I had not time to investigate thoroughly myself." 'Roads to Freedom' is not a serious contribution to political science; it is not even effective propaganda.

* "Roads to Freedom, by Bertrand Russel. Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism." G. Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.

AUSTRIA.

The Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, March 1st, reports the withdrawal of French troops from Mannheim and Ludwigshafen owing to the fear of the revolutionary spirit spreading among them. It says that during the recent Ludwigshafen disturbances French troops refused to obey orders and threatened their officers. The bridge between Mannheim and Ludwigshafen is barricaded and armed with machine guns. The bridge sentries have been reinforced.

Deutsche Tageszeitung, March 3rd, reports that in order to compensate German Austria for the robberies of art treasures and manuscripts perpetrated by the Italians, a well known neutral art collector (who for the present wishes to remain unknown) is presenting to Vienna his collections which exceed in value the stolen treasures.

LONDON & DISTRICT WORKERS' DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

Secretary pro tem: MRS. HOLLOWAY,
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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
LOCAL No. 1.

A GRAND DANCE will take place to-day Saturday, APRIL 12th, at the CROWN HALL, 40 Redmans Road, Stepney, E.

COMMENCE AT 7 O'CLOCK.
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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE SOVIETS REACH BAVARIA

"We must not expect things to happen like that in this country. There is some biological difference between ourselves and the Slav peoples which causes them to develop on other lines."

So Socialists who still regard the idea of revolution as remote and startling, and have not yet realised the crux of the difference between Parliament and the Soviets, seek to pooh-pooh our belief that the British revolution is coming and that shortly the Soviets will be established here. From its first emerging surely it was obvious that the Spartacist movement was the German counterpart of the Bolshevik movement in Russia, and that the Soviet Government of Germany must soon arise.

The German wiseacres doubtless said: "Our psychology is different, biologically we are unlike the Russians; our history has prepared us for an entirely other future; the Soviet principle is not applicable here." But fate and the progress of evolution has laughed at them; speedily bringing the Revolution they declared impossible. The Soviets are established in Bavaria, and presently will spread all over Germany. We British are of the same stock as the Germans; there can be no talk of peculiar biological differences between us.

The workers and soldiers of Bavaria are co-operating, and the Bavarian Soviets propose to ally themselves with the Soviets of Russia. That is outstanding, though the confused reports at present reaching us appear to show a conflict of opinion within the forces behind the Bavarian Soviets. The struggle in Germany is very bitter. Bavaria will have much to contend with; but Bavaria will not long stand alone. The news that in Berlin the Government has found it necessary to disarm the Augusta Regiment and now other regiments, because they were implicated in an effort to set up the Soviets is exceedingly hopeful. Strikes, with which the Soviet idea is associated, continuing to arise in districts so widely spread as Stuttgart, Magdeburg, Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia, all close to the Allied armies, remain significant.

The Independent Socialist Party of Germany has now definitely declared for the Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has not yet declared against Parliamentary action, but it is evidently about to do so. Haase, hitherto foremost amongst the Independents, only succeeded in securing the passage by a small majority of a clause stating that the party would employ "all political and economic weapons including Parliament."

Haase was elected to the chairmanship of the party by 154 votes, as against 109 cast for Daümig, but refused to take office. He probably saw that his majority would swiftly be turned into a minority, particularly as the party in Berlin was supporting Daümig.

The programme adopted by the Conference declared that the Independents stand for the Council (or Soviet) System, supporting the Councils in their struggle for economic and political power, and aiming at the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary preliminary to the establishment of Socialism. To attain this end the Party will employ all political and economic means, including Parliament, but repudiates purposeless acts of violence. (A concession this to the anti-Spartacists.)

The Party demands the dissolution of the old army and volunteer corps; disarmament of the bourgeoisie; the establishment of a national guard drawn from the ranks of class-conscious Labour with its own administration; and the election of leaders by the rank and file. It stands for the immediate socialisation of capitalist undertakings; the transfer of large estates and forests to the community and in the towns; the municipalisation of private property; sufficient housing to be provided by the local authorities; the immediate setting up of a National Court to try those responsible for the world war; the establishment of a public legal monopoly in advertisements; and the acquirement of surplus house space for those requiring accommodation; the establishment of friendly relations with all countries, and the immediate resumption of diplomatic relations with the Russian Soviet Government, and Poland; the reconstitution of the Workers' International on the basis of a revolutionary Socialist policy in the spirit of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences.

The programme is therefore a hotch-potch drawn from the Russian Bolsheviki, the Spartacists and items, not yet scrapped, from the old programme of the Independents. That the Independents have at last virtually adopted the Spartacist standpoint, shows that Spartacism is on the eve of complete success.

Austria.

There can be no doubt that Austria will shortly establish the Soviets. At a meeting of the Sailors' Council on March 30th, attended by soldiers and by delegates from the Hungarian Soviets, it was announced that a dictatorship of the proletariat was imminent. Kovacs, a delegate from Budapest, declared that once the Soviet was proclaimed food would be sent to Vienna, even if Budapest should go on short commons in consequence. Resolutions declaring for the union of the Austrian and Hungarian Soviets were adopted with enthusiasm. The attempts by sections of workers to Socialise the industry in which they are employed, which have arisen in the Central Empires with growing frequency since the Russian Revolution, still continue. It is remarkable to learn that the Vienna bank employees are demanding a share in the administration of the banks and control of the funds, and that the bankers are temporising with the demand.

Bulgaria.

Bulgaria, long the most politically advanced of the Balkan nations and strongly inclined towards Socialism from the time of the later Balkan wars, is showing signs of bursting into Bolshevism with so much vigour that the Allied armies may be powerless to check the movement, as they have been doing since their occupation. A telegram from Athens to the *Matin* says:—

"A Bolshevik movement at Varna (the Bulgarian Black Sea port) having been attempted by Socialists and extremists from Sofia, the Allied authorities caused the town to be occupied by British troops, and martial law was proclaimed. All the ringleaders are to be tried by British court-martial and severely punished.—Exchange."

So the Allied military domination of Europe is holding back progress and denying freedom to the workers of all nations!

Serbia and Roumania.

Serbia also appears to be in a turbulent state. Reports of a military revolt against the dynasty have reached this country, and the Prime Minister is complaining that Serbia's territorial claims are betrayed by the secret treaties and that Italy is annexing territory occupied by the Serbs. Roumania is also causing so much anxiety to the Allies that General Mangin has been sent to deal with Bolshevism there.

Hungary.

The decision to send General Mangin to Hungary meant immediate war upon the Soviets there; the reconsideration, which has resulted in the visit of General Smuts, means that the Big Four understand that Europe is like a vast powder magazine threatening to explode unless dealt with carefully. They are therefore trying to achieve their objects by subtler methods. The proposals made by General Smuts are really monstrous and territorially appear to be not more favourable than those rejected by the Karolyi Government. A glance at the map will show that the line behind which Hungarian troops are expected to retire, is a line drawn through the centre of the Hungary which existed before the war, so that the Hungary under Hungarian control will be half its former size, if Allied demands are complied with. The dismembered portions of Hungary, which are not already occupied by Allied troops, are to be called a "neutral" zone, and to be occupied by British, French, Italian, and, if they agree, American troops. Karolyi declared that the Allied intention was to use Hungary as a base against Soviet Russia. His words will be remembered now. The Hungarian Soviets are expected to accept the armistice terms arranged between the late Government and the Allies, and Hungarian troops are to receive orders not to move beyond their present positions. If Hungary were to agree to these terms, she would deliver herself, bound hand and foot, to the Allies eagerly waiting to demolish her Soviets. Bela Kun, the Hungarian Commissary for Foreign Affairs, has replied suggesting a conference, at Prague or Vienna, between the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the German-Austrian Republic, the Jugo-Slav State, the Czecho-Slovak Republic, and the Kingdom of Roumania. By this conference, time, so important to the Soviets which work through educative propaganda, will be gained, and tremendous opportunities will be opened up for throwing upon the tangled situation the healing rays of truth.

Russia.

Undoubtedly the Soviets are making headway in Russia—such headway that there has been a press outcry that the Allied soldiers may be driven into the sea in Northern Russia and starved out at Odessa. Those who justify the Allied Intervention in Russia base the major part of their argument on accounts of starvation in Bolshevik Russia. They disregard the fact that the Allies and the counter-revolution are causing that starvation by the blockade and the holding up of supplies in Russia itself. But here we have the Allies caught in the meshes of their own reasoning. Odessa, which was once the greatest of the world's grain exporting ports, is becoming incapable of supporting the Allies, who are stationed there. Why? Mismanagement and general war conditions are no doubt partly responsible, but the hostility of the Ukranian population towards the invaders, is no doubt the main cause of their lack of supplies. The population is rallying to the Soviets. The press will not say too openly how great is the success of the Communists in the Ukraine, but such phrases as the Wireless Press dispatch from *The Manchester Guardian* tell their own tale:—

"A despatch received at Berne from Warsaw announces that the conquest of the Ukraine by the Bolsheviks has given them about 26,000 tons of sugar, which were stocked in that country."

The Finns and Karelians who have been under the British General Maynard in the Murmansk region have shown so determined a desire to join the Bolsheviki that the press has been full of lamentations. In the effort to induce the British people to agree to extend the war against Russia to much more formidable dimensions, it is pretended that a large army must go to Russia, as a rescue party, to preserve the lives of the British soldiers, threatened by the treacherous Finns and the ferocious Russian Red Army, which will advance upon them in warships when the ice-bound rivers become navigable. Volunteers are appealed for. An Anti-Bolshevik white paper is brought out, and the cruel reactionary Koltchak is elevated to the position of a hero. The Northcliffe press published his 'On to Moscow' proclamation as though it were a call to a crusade. Commonsense dictates our oft-repeated question: *If it is possible to send reinforcements to fight side by side with the British soldiers in Russia, why is it not possible to bring them home!*

Continued on page 1291.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND COLONEL HOUSE.

The Labour Party invited Colonel House to be present at its League of Nations Conference. Colonel House replied that "other duties" would keep him in Paris. When will the British Labour Party cease to pin its faith to capitalist politicians?

ANOTHER BLOW AT RUSSIA AND THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

The Government has issued a Proclamation of King George against the importation into this country of Russian rouble notes, except those issued by the Counter-Revolutionary Preliminary Government of Archangel. "This prohibition shall not apply to any such notes which are imported under licence." To whom are the licences to be issued? We suppose to counter-revolutionaries warranted to work against the Soviets. The British Co-operative Movement has been endeavouring to get into touch with the Russian Co-operative Movement. The British Government has prevented this. Allied Governments have been subsidising capitalist companies in Archangel and in Siberia through Mr. Leslie Urquhart, the chairman of a large mining company in Siberia.

SOLDIERS PROTEST AGAINST BEING SENT TO RUSSIA.

La Vague (the French Socialist weekly) of March 27th contains many protests from soldiers against being sent to Russia.

SIBERIA A FRENCH COLONY.

"About two months ago a circular was issued to the Paris regiments asking for volunteers from the young classes of 17 and 18 to relieve the troops in the colonies. Many of the young men, in order to travel and to escape from the barracks, hastened to accept. Everything went well until we arrived at Marseilles, when, at the 22nd Colonial Regiment, or 26th Company, we were disagreeably surprised to find that we were destined for *Siberia!* Yes, mark well: Siberia! We protested at the office without result. One of us was even told that Siberia had become a *French Colony!* In short, on February 25th, two companies were formed and embarked, not without some fuss, on board the 'Paul Loca.' Two-thirds of our comrades had not had leave; some, who came from the Palatinate, had not seen their friends for some months."

A LETTER FROM RUSSIA.

A French soldier dragged over there as a would-be volunteer, writes to the *Vague* that: "The Bolsheviki are ten times more civilised than we are."

REST! BUT SILENCE.

La Vague says: "For the last week 20,000 naval shipbuilders and metal workers (all classes) have stopped work. But the Censor keeps his eye on the newspapers, no doubt in order not to compromise our national defence—in Russia!"

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK IN RUSSIA.

In conflict with the stories of chaos in Russia comes the news given in *Le Populaire* of March 23rd that the Soviet Government has carried out an important piece of constructive work in widening and deepening the River Svir. The work was carried out by a great fleet of dredgers and finished in August, 1918. It enabled the Russians to take war vessels from the Baltic Sea to the Volga and contributed to the taking of Kazan by the Soviet troops.

The Soviets have completed a railway line from Arzamas to Kromey and are completing one from Kazan to Ekaterinburg, a distance of 578 miles. Two thousand miles of railway line are in course of construction and will be finished on May 1st. Arrangements are being made to re-connect Central Russia with Turkestan by railway. Many bridges are being built and 1,200 miles of railway for military purposes are also being laid.

BLACKS AND WHITES IN JOHANNESBURG.

The Times' Johannesburg correspondent complains that during the Rand Strike the same treatment has not been meted out by the authorities to black and white workers and refers to the murder of a native by hooligan whites. We deeply regret such murders, but we observe that capitalist organs like *The Times* become indignant at such murders when the natives are acting in a way that is acceptable to the capitalists, as blacklegs upon white workers. In Egypt the natives are only asking the British authorities to clear out and leave them to manage their own country according to promise; for this they are shot, and to kill them is not called murder. "Mobile columns," which "deal with offenders on the spot," in the eyes of the conqueror are quite in order.

THE BOLSHEVIK PROGRAMME AND THEORY.

The article on 'Parliament or the Soviets,' by the Russian People's Commissary Bukharin, which we published in our issue of April 5th, was taken from a pamphlet entitled 'The Programme of the Communists (Bolsheviki),' which is not obtainable in this country. Next week's issue will contain a further instalment, entitled: 'The Anarchist, or the Communist Social Order?'

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Owing to a fire in the Editor's Room at 400 Old Ford Road, several letters have been burnt. Correspondents whose letters are not answered are requested to write again.

THE DOGS' BILL.

Mr. Leonard Hill is upset by the Bill to prevent experiments on dogs, because by experimenting on puppies he wants to find out whether children, if allowed enough fresh air can do without proper food without becoming rickety, or if given enough food can escape the disease though kept in overcrowded conditions. The ruling classes may discover how to rear a healthy working class at the lowest cost. Under Socialism we shall not carry on such dismal researches.

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS CALL FOR GENERAL STRIKE.

The Parliamentary group of the Italian Socialist Party has issued a manifesto assuming that the Peace Conference is preparing a peace that will rival Brest-Litovsk, and calling for a general strike against such a peace.

CANADIAN JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS.

In Canada the employers are eager for the establishment of Joint Industrial Councils of employers and employed. The Socialists oppose these Councils, which are supported by the old-fashioned trade unions affiliated to Gompers' American Federation of Labour and opposed to Socialism.

BOLSHEVISM ADVANCES.

From an article in the French Socialist Weekly, "La Vague;" by Pierre Brizon "Kienthalian," deputy to the Chamber of Deputies.

All is lost, here is Bolshevism in Hungary now!

Instead of retreating, it is advancing. It is driving in upon us....! It threatens Pichon.

Pichon is at the head of the European Reaction. He leads it to its Waterloo.

Bolshevism is at the head of the social world revolution. It leads it to its Austerlitz.

And of course Bolshevism is worse than the war. War only takes poor folks' lives. Bolshevism spares the life, but lays its hand on the money bags, on the land of the aristocrat and the money of the bourgeois! Terrible, is it not?

Bolshevism wishes to be done with parasites, miseries, and wars. No more wars, how frightful!

Think! No more dead on the battlefields, no more bombs on towns, no more hurricanes of artillery fire, no more poison gas, no more trenches. No longer any means of getting rich whilst others are dying. Lasting peace between the Socialist Republics of the world. Ah, barbarism!

To *live!* Bolshevism actually claims that we are on the earth to *live!* To live happily with the wealth produced by the work of all. The work of life. The politics of life. The morality of life—of health, abundance and joy. One has never seen the like of it. It is horrible!

Behold the Barbarians! Bolshevism is advancing over Hungary. All is lost in our old society....

Read with me these passages of a letter, dated March 5th, and written by a French soldier, which I have received from Odessa:—

"They are making us Republicans fight against a nation of Russians who have thrown off the yoke of the Tsars. They are making us fight side by side with some Russians and Poles who wish to re-establish the old régime, and bring back the Tsardom.

"Immediately after disembarking certain units were unknowingly led into the fight. Men refused to march. They were scattered amongst different units. Leaves and repatriations were stopped.

"Every day Russians are being shot here. In the first few days here I saw one shot for distributing propagandist pamphlets.

"What was on these pamphlets? The truth! The Russian people had risen up against their masters who were devouring them. They were counting on us French soldiers to understand that their cause was also ours. And the pamphlet ended with an appeal to the Workers' International for the avoidance of war between brothers.

"Ah! he was a brave fellow, the distributor of this moving appeal. He died boldly. He watched all the preparations without trembling. When they tied him to the post, he asked them to let him rest his knee on the ground, so that he would be firmer.

"The French officer growled his insults in the face of this man who was about to die without flinching for his ideals; whilst the soldiers of the firing party told off to shoot him were presenting their arms——

"We live like pariahs in this Southern Russia. We are cut off from everything, almost without letters from France and entirely without newspapers. Anger is rising among us.

"Everyone looks askance at us, rich and poor alike. The poor say: 'What have you come here for? To take the bread out of our mouths? To put us in chains again?'

"The rich say to us: 'Why do you stop there doing nothing? It is not in Odessa that you have got to fight anarchy. The Bolsheviki are bandits: no mercy for them!'

"We are not active enough to suit the purposes of those who have the money bags!

"In our skirmishes with the Bolsheviki blood has been spilt on both sides. May it fall as a curse on the heads of the guilty—who are in France!"

L. A. MOTLER.

Read what has befallen our comrade L. A. Motler, whose common sensical witticisms enliven our columns week by week, and form your own judgment.

On February 6th Motler's article in THE DREADNOUGHT was built up around the conversation of a group of men in a workshop on the question of working hours. The workshop was in reality the workshop where Motler was employed, the incidents referred to were real incidents; indeed, the story was taken from actual life.

And what followed?

On Friday evening the overseer of his department handed to Motler this letter:—

BELL PUNCH AND PRINTING CO., LTD.
52-56 Tabernacle Street, E.C.2.
February 7th, 1919.

SIR,—In consequence of the return of some of the Company's old employees whose positions were guaranteed to them when they left to join H.M. Forces, I have to say that your services will no longer be required after this date. You will be paid herewith your wages for this week, to which will be added two weeks' wages in lieu of notice.

Yours faithfully,
S. D. BLACK, *Secretary.*

It is true that Motler was engaged on a machine on which a soldier had worked before being conscripted, but this soldier had returned and another machine had been found for him. On Motler leaving, a girl, not a returned soldier, was put on to the machine he had been working. Motler had been employed at this firm for four years and he is the only man who has been dismissed. It was strange to pay him in lieu of notice. Motler wrote at once for a reference and received this letter in reply:—

SIR,—I am in receipt of your's of the 7th inst., and in reply beg to state that you will be at liberty to refer any prospective employer to us for a reference.

RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM—TYRANNY OR FREEDOM.

There is a wide divergence of opinion among American progressives concerning the Russian Soviet Government. Even advanced people in this country are opposed to the Bolshevist idea. Among the Russians in America there is bitter disagreement, and this disagreement has been one of the largest contributing factors to the general chaotic American opinion. The majority of Russians in America, in spite of the systematic campaign of misrepresentation that has been conducted against the Russian Soviet, have a rather wonderful faith in the adventure which their countrymen across the world are making. There are a few whose position, in view of their economic background and previous preaching, is quite as difficult to understand as any factor in the Russian situation.

Telling the story of Russia in revolt as it appeared to me, I am confronted again and again with the same questions:—

"Can the Soviets be considered democratic when they deny representation to the bourgeoisie and the aristocratic classes?" "Have not the Bolsheviki suppressed newspapers and imprisoned people who disagree with them?" "Are they not an autocracy of the proletariat?" "Is an autocracy of the proletariat any better than an autocracy of the Czar?"

"The Bolsheviki dispersed the Constituent Assembly. How is that justified on any grounds of democracy?"

"If the Constituent Assembly was not elected under fair conditions, why did the Bolsheviki not call another election, and immediately convene another Constituent Assembly?"

Coming from the lips of the liberal, whose social vision stops with the guaranty of political rights, of free speech, free press and inviolability of person, these questions are understandable enough, but from the lips of the Socialist, whose conception of liberty is based upon an economic rather than a political foundation, such sentiments are queer indeed. It seems that the divergence of opinion among advanced people in this country comes largely from confusion as to the true meaning of democracy.

Lenin, when he overthrew the Kerensky government, made no claim to being a creator of a new democracy. He scoffed at democracy as it was practised in the western nations. He declared that just as the French revolution challenged feudal control, the Russian Soviet challenges the bourgeois political control; and that just as the feudal control was moribund and fell, so the direct form of economic social control for which the Soviet stands will destroy every form of bourgeois political control.

He saw that the western democracies suppressed the press and imprisoned people for disagreeing with them and charged them with failure in the business of government, which is to house, to clothe, to feed and to educate its people.

He laid no claim to the establishment of a millennium in Russia. He said merely that Russia had entered into the transition period that will lead to Socialism. To the "parlor Socialists," who call him undemocratic, I heard him say:—

"To imagine Socialism as these gentlemen would have it, we would have to serve it to them on a silver platter. It is impossible. It will never be. There is no other road to Socialism except the dictatorship of the proletariat and the merciless suppression of the rule of the exploiter."

The Bolsheviki do claim that the Soviet form of government contains the rudiments of a democracy, much broader, more complete than any of the democracies of the western powers.

In America we require that a man must have attained his majority, that he must be a citizen of the United States by birth or naturalization, and that he must not be either insane or a criminal, before we permit him to vote. We do not claim that we are undemocratic because we do not permit the criminal and the insane, the unnaturalized, and those who are under twenty-one, to vote. Some Americans will not even agree that we are undemocratic when we refuse the vote to American women. Russia has fewer election laws than we have, but she has one fundamental one, that if you do not work you have no right to a voice in the Government. Every man and woman in Russia above the age of eighteen can immediately qualify as a voter by complying with the one fundamental electoral rule of the Soviet—by going to work. If he is a working producer, working with his hands or with his brains, whether he is a ditch digger or a superintendent, he may be admitted to participation.

The Bolsheviki disenfranchise by different standards from those used in all other democracies. The Bolsheviki disenfranchise the parasite class just as we disenfranchise the insane and the criminal classes, on the principle of the social good. They refuse to permit any individual or group of individuals to make use of the past stored labour power of the world, or to control and profit from the present labour power.

It is true that the Bolsheviki suppressed the press and imprisoned persons who disagree with them. They offered in justification the same reasons offered by the governing group in America: that it was a war measure which the safety of the Government demanded. A study of the Russian papers since the November revolution, will show that drastic as this suppression of the press was, it was less drastic than that practised in America. I mean to say that the newspapers of Russia have been full of attacks against the Bolsheviki such as would never have been permitted against the governing group in America. It is not possible to excuse suppression of the press and free speech in Russia any more than it is possible to excuse it in America. Yet it would seem that we should be very timid about making overmuch of this charge when we consider that we have generations of organization and stability back of us, while the new government of Russia has just come struggling into existence out of centuries of oppression, and is fighting for its life against odds such as we have never known.

As to the Constituent Assembly, I saw it come and go, and it is my honest opinion that it would have been dissolved if Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson, Clemenceau, or any other group of English, French or American statesmen had been in the position of Lenin and Trotzky. The Constituent Assembly was elected under rules laid down by the government of Kerensky, and was a relic of the political revolution in Russia. It was dissolved, not on that January morning when the sailors told the delegates it was time to go home, but on that November day when the government which created it evaporated like a pricked balloon. The Bolsheviki claimed it was not representative of the Russian masses. Their claim seems to have been upheld by the people themselves, for though there were twelve million bayonets in Russia from which to gather a nucleus of effective protest, no group in Russia has been able to make that protest.

Our evidence of the vitality of the Soviet in Russia is to be found in the fact that it has survived every form of counter-revolution from within, and Allied intervention from without. Nicholas Chaikovsky told me that it had completely swept the country, that every time one of his delegates of the Peasants' Council went back to his village, he found the people there had swung further and further to the left. Harold Williams, in a dispatch to the London *Times*, written while he was still in Russia, declared that Bolshevism had swept the country, invading even the ranks of the Cossacks.

We are told that the position of the Bolsheviki has been maintained by force. Yet every time the Soviet formulas met the bayonets massed against them, the bayonets went down before those formulas, and the soldiers who had come to overthrow remained to participate.

The Bolsheviki would not call a Constituent Assembly because they believed the will of the majority was better expressed in the more flexible convention of the Soviets, which had already replaced the Constituent Assembly, even before its formal dissolution.

The challenge of which Vladimir Lenin spoke is beginning to be recognised by the statesmen of the world. The Russian Soviet is at the peace table. Whatever the decision of the peace plenipotentiaries, the fact remains that Russia is there. Not the Russia of Prince Lvoff; Bakhmatieff, whose campaign of misrepresentation is largely responsible for the anomalous intervention policy of the Allies; not the Russia of Korniloff or Kaliden or the Czar; but the Russia of the masses of peasants and workers who are fighting and starving and dying to fling their challenge at the world.

Whether delegates of the Soviet are there in the flesh makes little difference. Soviet Russia and that which it has unloosed upon the world is uppermost in the mind of every man who sits at the board.

The challenge cannot be met by sticking the national head under the sand and denying the existence of the Soviet or the extent of its power. Continued misrepresentation of its program or its performance will not suffice to crush it. The pathetic wail of the few anti-Bolshevist Russians in America about the suppression of the press and the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly will change nothing. If we are to meet the Russian situation, we must look ahead.

Military intervention has failed. It deserved to fail for its sheer criminal stupidity, if for nothing else. The scarcely less sinister policy of starving Russia into submission to the will of other nations can be hardly more successful. The papier-maché governments of the opposition which have sprung up like mushrooms all over that vast land and have been as shortlived as mushrooms, offer no hope for any working solution. It is time to make an honest effort to find out the true condition of Russia, and to understand what has really happened there.

The most essential thing in understanding the Russian situation is a realisation that it cannot be judged by any of the old measuring sticks. We have here an experiment in government which has never before been made in the story of the race.

[Reprinted from *The Public*, U.S.A.]

ALEXANDRA KOLONTAI CREATES A RUSSIAN PALACE OF MOTHERHOOD.

Bessie Beatty, an American writer, in her book 'The Red Heart of Russia,'* refers to Alexandra Kolontai, the Bolshevik People's Commissary for the Department of Social Welfare which she renamed the Department of Social Security.

"The revenue for the department was raised largely by a monopoly on playing cards. They were sold at 30 roubles a dozen. Kolontai, on the theory that cards were not a necessity of life and therefore should be heavily taxed, raised the price to 360 roubles a dozen.

"When Kolontai took charge, the officials went on strike and took the key from the Treasury. For two weeks the whereabouts of the key remained a mystery. Then Kolontai sent for a band of Red Guards and sailors, and her order, backed by their bayonets, was obeyed.

"She reorganised the department from below, but installed democratic management, giving every employee a vote. There were 4,000 minor employees drawing very miserable salaries, while a few figureheads received as much as 25,000 roubles a year. She readjusted the scale so that 600 roubles a month became the highest salary paid to any one.

"There are two and a half million maimed soldiers in Russia, and in January [1918] there were four million others who were sick or wounded. These and nearly half a million dependent children came under the care of the department.

"Russia's infant mortality rate is the highest of any so-called civilised country. Kolontai, in an effort to correct this, opened a Palace of Motherhood, with a maternity exhibition and training classes to prepare a mother for the coming of her child. She planned this as a model for similar houses to be established all over Russia. It was arranged that mothers could come there for eight weeks prior to the birth of the child and remain for eight weeks afterwards, whilst substitute mothers went into the homes to take care of the other children.

"Several measures were passed by the Council of People's Commissaries to protect maternity, and these were under the jurisdiction of Kolontai's department. The working day† for nursing mothers was reduced to four hours and a compulsory rest period† before and after the birth of the child, was established.

"'Little Republics' were established in all the homes for older children and for the aged, and self-government was introduced. The social programme included an adequate scale of compensation for the disabled victims of the war, many of whom were forced to beg in the streets. This entailed a tremendous expenditure and I asked Madame Kolontai how it would be possible to raise so much money. 'We found money for war,' she answered, 'we shall find money for this.'

"She asserted that graft [corruption] in the department reached into millions of roubles, and that the elimination of this alone would go far toward realising some of her schemes. She proposed also requisitioning the monasteries and convents, which were the repositories of untold wealth in land and jewels, and turning them into children's homes and asylums."

* Published by the Century Co., New York.

† In a rational state of society such prohibition will be unnecessary, but the Socialist structure cannot be perfected all at once and this statement refers to a period within three or four months after the Soviet Government took control.

THE SOVIETS REACH BAVARIA.

Continued from page 1288.

The war against the Soviets of Russia and all the Soviets must be stopped; it is a disgrace to the Allied workers that they ever permitted it to be begun. The most effectual way to end it is to set up the Soviets in Britain.

The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party, as we write, are holding a conference to discuss this question. Indeed, it is high time that they should act. Their policy towards Russia has been most reactionary; Henderson, who placed his faith in Kerensky and bitterly attacked the Bolsheviki and the Soviets, has been very much to blame. Now that the pressure of rank and file understanding is steadily forcing the reactionary officials to a change of front, it must be made plain to them that mere resolutions are not enough: that action alone counts. Already in Bristol dockers have taken action by refusing to load ships for Russia; in the Thames area, the press complains that men are delaying the export of munitions. In the Labour world is a smouldering fire of hostility to the anti-Russian adventure, which may break into flame at any time. Soldiers and sailors also, have manifested their determined disapproval.

Albert Thomas, an abler counterpart of Clynes or Henderson, has made some important admissions concerning Russian affairs, which have appeared in the *Populaire*. Writing to Capt. Jacques Sadoul, French Ambassador in Petrograd, whose indignant letter exposing Allied anti-Soviet plots created a sensation last year, and was seized by Scotland Yard when it appeared in this country, Thomas says:—

"I have always said, here in France, that Lenin, whose character I know, is above suspicion; I have always said concerning Trotsky, that I do not know him and can therefore say nothing, but that I have no reason to suspect him: but as for the others, I have a strong suspicion that they had German money for their propaganda.

"That said, all my reserves are made: it is necessary to negotiate and to enter into relations. And for my part, if I can be of use in this direction, I am ready to forget past injuries. [He remarked in an earlier part of the letter that, on his visit to Russia, he was attacked by the Bolshevik press as an agent of French and British capitalism and Russian reaction.]

"....The very conditions under which they have engaged in peace negotiations force the Russians to show themselves more insistent than ourselves to realise the democratic objects of war.

"I have been, for my part, much impressed by the resistance with which they opposed the Germans on the question of the right of peoples to dispose of themselves. What a pity that we could not support them directly in this effort.... Rest assured that you find an echo here, that if the Governments hesitate a little at holding a conversation with the Bolsheviki, they nevertheless feel the necessity for such a conversation. Particularly at the time of writing, I think that the futility of a policy of separation and of Russian divisions has been recognised, and what is occurring in the Ukraine ought specially to open the eyes of all those who hoped to organise an important military effort against the Germans and the Bolsheviki."

Thomas also asked Sadoul to assure the Russians that the Allied war aims are now purified!

To have written thus Albert Thomas must either be a fool or a deceitful hypocrite.

This letter of his should be studied in conjunction with the Berne Conference majority resolution, which condemned the Soviets and the Bolsheviki and which he supported.

What is Thomas doing in France to oppose the intervention?

Bolshevism and Belgium.

Bolshevism is likely soon to appear in Belgium, because the condition of the people is one of such acute hardship, and the neglect by the Allies is so great, that they will realise, in spite of Vandevelde and Huysmans, that the workers must take the power in their own hands, and this they can only do effectively by the establishment of Soviets.

In the neighbourhood of Antwerp all but eleven per cent of the workers are said to be unemployed. Vandervelde says that two and a quarter million out of a population of seven millions are living on State aid. Out of 20,000 dockers in Antwerp only 2,000 are working. In Brussels there are 92,000 unemployed. Britain has forced Belgium to cease exporting coal to Switzerland, as this "upset the British exchanges." Belgium has lost 213,000 tons of shipping out of a total 350,000. No compensation has been paid for this or other damage, and Belgium has had no definite guarantee as to her share of the sum to be exacted from Germany. Latterly the Allies have even questioned her right to priority of compensation.

Whilst the Peace Conference wrangles, the people of Belgium are workless and hungry. Many are homeless; their ruined houses are not rebuilt. Yet the Allied capitalist Governments, in a spirit of callous iniquity, are busy spreading reports of Bolshevik atrocities! Belgium may presently have the distinction of starting the Soviets in Western Europe. Thus will her people find what recompense is possible for the sufferings which capitalist rivalries have thrust upon them.

The workers of Europe are fighting a desperate battle with capitalism: a struggle the loss of which means actual death to large numbers, and the living death of subjection to the entire proletariat.

And here we have British trade union leaders unanimously adopting a report containing a jumble of out-of-date reforms, as a bait to enter into a partnership with the employers under the proposed Joint Industrial Councils, which are designed to stultify working-class action. The worthlessness of the partnership was clearly demonstrated, if any demonstration were needed, by the Chairman's reply to a delegate's request for an interpretation of the term "legitimate grievances." The Chairman's reply was:—

"*That is a thing that all the world quarrels about, so I am sure we cannot get any answer.*"

Precisely: on every important question, employers and employed must fail to agree. What further condemnation of this pretence at unity is necessary! Arthur Henderson, in moving the resolution to accept the report, again showed himself totally unfit to hold an official position in the Workers' Movement. He said that the trade union representatives on the Committee were determined not to press the claims of the workers to extremes, and that the employers were of the same mind. He declared that Lloyd George had not been able "to conceal his delight" at the report. He said that this Joint Council would get for the workers those increases of justice to which they believed they were entitled. They could get them "and be an example to the whole world."

"An example to the whole world." Yes, we British workers are in danger of becoming an example, a warning, to the world of to-day and to posterity, in that we sat by, our officials smugly priding themselves on their cleverness in avoiding conflict, whilst the workers of all the world were enslaved by our masters!

Lloyd George's reply to the pettifogging proposals of the Conference was not even a promise to legislate, but merely an expression of sympathy.

We are glad to learn that the conscientious objectors who have had the pluck to bear imprisonment for their convictions are to be released after two years in gaol. But we emphatically dissent from the thanks which *The Herald* has offered to Lloyd George. It says: "We are grateful to the Prime Minister and his colleagues that at last they have been able to defy the reactionary forces in our country and release these martyrs to conscience."

We give no thanks to the Government for this tardy relaxation of its cruel grip upon the men who have resisted conscription. We say to the workers: When are you going to join in getting them all released; when are you going to dismiss this Government and end the capitalist system?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SMOKE NO MORE.

BY JAMES CHRISTIE.

From Land's End to John o'Groats there are institutions galore for the cure of disease but not a single one for its prevention. There should be many real live dreadnoughts in the shape of smokeless Garden Towns studded throughout Great Britain, cooking, heating and lighting to be done by electricity.

In 1909 I suggested that a start might be made in the vicinity of London. At that time the people were not ripe for the change, but there has been a great transformation since then. The idea was that the coal would be brought up to the pit's mouth, the generation was to take place there, and the power to be sent on with cable, but the late Professor Ramsay, four years after, told the world that it was not even necessary to bring the coal to the surface, and, being a scientific man, no doubt he was right. Why use coal and have these periodical pit disasters with their attendant loss of life, our ships can go to sea without it. In British Columbia in 1913 a Company was formed that fitted up a ship to act as generator. A few should be built and anchored at different points of the Pacific; the motion of the sea was to do the rest. Unfortunately, the shareholders were financially poor and the idea was abandoned, but there is not the least excuse for shortness of finance to-day in this country. To the question, "What are the wild waves saying?"—one answer is "Harness me and I will drive thee wherever thou wilt."

Some time ago I asked a man in charge of a large building being fitted up with electric light, if he did not think it would be a good thing to use electricity for cooking and heating as well. He answered: "Simply grand." But he was terribly puzzled to know how the poor painter would get on for work. From such remarks one would almost think we live on work; the experience of the world is that we live on food and to get that food, and other necessaries, a quarter of the hours that have been done in normal times is enough.

It has been suggested that the houses in devastated France and Belgium should be rebuilt in the style of the British Garden City houses. It is to be hoped not for they are chiefly composed of roof with all sorts of unthinkable angles, a thorough waste of labour and material, inside corners and crevices. When reconstruction begins the new Woman will have something to say about shelving and seeing that the door is not where the window ought to be as compared with the sink and cupboards. Stephen Walsh, M.P., remarked that the house of to-day is a brick box with a slate lid on. That is not to be the house of to-morrow. It will have a concrete roof—flat, so that it can be of use for recreation and sun baths. The walls of the rooms will be smoothly plastered, so that they can be painted and washable. There will be no awkward corners and no projecting brickwork of fire places, as they will not be required. The present chimneys must get their last sweep, then be turned into ventilators.

Professor Simpson has just told us that prevention is better than cure. The cure is simple. Stop constructing rabbit hutches as dwelling places for human beings. People coming out of these places reeking with disease must certainly infect those who live in the palace. It is not wise to exist in an expensive Hell when it is possible to live in a cheap Eden. Health is wealth, and a healthy nation is a happy one.

Architects, Town Dwellers and Town Planners, let the cry go forth "Electricity."

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

Collecting sheets may be had on application from 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. OUR FRIENDS and supporters are asked to do all they can to HELP the paper *now*. The circulation has doubled since December, 1918, but it must increase much more. Money is needed to keep up the present standard, and increase the circulation until we have *at least* a million readers.

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LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, APRIL 11th.
The Square, Woolwich.—12 (NOON), Miss O'Neil, Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, APRIL 12th.
Great Push against Conscription in Poplar and Bow.—Meet at 11.30 A.M. at 20, Railway Street, and at 2.45 P.M. at 400, Old Ford Road, meeting at Grundy Street and at St. Stephen's Road. Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss O'Neil, Mrs. Walker, John Blythe, and others

SUNDAY, APRIL 13th.
Osborn Street.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
Salmon and Ball.—11.45 A.M., Miss O'Neil.

SATURDAY, APRIL 19th.
Great Push against Conscription in Stratford.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, APRIL 7th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.

THURSDAY, APRIL 10th.
20, Railway Street, Poplar W.S.F. Study Circle.—8 P.M., Philip Edmunds, 'Marxian Economics.'

FRIDAY, APRIL 11th.
20, Railway Street.—7.45 P.M., Speakers' Class.

SATURDAY, APRIL 12th.
400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., Anti-Conscription meeting for Women only, Miss O'Neil, Mrs. Clara Cole.

SUNDAY, APRIL 13th.
20, Railway Street.—7 P.M., Arnold Lupton, 'Old Slavery in New Governments.' Chair: Mrs. Cressall. Discussion.

No General Meeting on Friday, April 18th. It is postponed to April 25th, 8 P.M., at 3, Great Garden Street, Whitechapel.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

FRIDAY, APRIL 11th.
400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., East London Workers' Committee.

SATURDAY, APRIL 12th.
Chandos Hall.—7.30 P.M., Reginald Roper, M.A,

SUNDAY, APRIL 13th.
Trafalgar Square, 3 P.M., Demonstration to demand release of Ramsay and Watson.
400, Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., East London Workers' Committee's Social in aid of the Ramsay and Watson Fund.

TUESDAY, APRIL 15th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Miss Margaret Hall.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—COLLECTIONS: Bow People's Hall, 13*s.* 7*d.*; Bow Branch Meeting, 1*s.* 7*d.*; International Dance, Mr. J. H. Fowler, 2*s.* PORTABLE PLATFORM, Anon.

SOCIAL WORK.—Miss A. Udny (Jan. and Feb.), £2 18*s.* 6*d*; Misses Gulland (monthly), £1 15*s.*; Miss Burgis (sale of clothes), £1 5*s.* 1*d.*; per Miss J. E. Weir (monthly), £1 5*s.*; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10*s.*; Goole I.L.P., 5*s.* COLLECTIONS: Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 11*s.* 9*d.* BOOKS, Anon.

Parliament As We See It.

March 31st.—Mr. Bonar Law said that the question of withdrawing British troops from Russia had been discussed "pretty often." He refused to grant a day for a debate on Russia. There should be no fear of publicity if there were nothing to hide!

CONSCRIPTION.

On the ground that there was no "immediate national necessity" for the Naval, Military and Air Service Bill, Mr. C. Thorne (L.) moved that the House refuse to give it a Third Reading. The Bill, however, was given a Third Reading and passed. Mr. Churchill assured the House, that "even if Russia did not exist the measure would have to be passed." Yet the acquiescence of the Commons in this further crime against the people, has been followed by the dispatch of a "rescue" force to Russia!!

COBBLING.

April 1st.—Mr. Bonar Law had to admit that the Government had not as yet considered the question of women magistrates; but he supposed "it will have to be considered some day." Why not save time by removing the sex barrier in all such matters, instead of using the people's rights as a means of winning favour. For instance the "reward" of war work was the vote to women over thirty. Other countries are giving votes to *all* over eighteen as a right.

THERE IS A LIMIT.

April 2nd.—People who have followed debates since the elections with a feeling of despair were glad to note that even the present House of Commons can be pushed too far! The Army (Annual) Bill was read a second time on Mar. 31st, and already then protests against Clause 12 were raised. On the Committee stage Mr. Adamson (Lab.) moved that paragraph (*a*) of that Clause be omitted. It provided for the complete muzzling of public opinion on military matters. One could neither speak not write one's views without risking being punished for causing disaffection under this Clause. Mr. Churchill when he realised that the whole House was up against him agreed to withdraw the Clause. This success should encourage the opposition to greater efforts.

THE POUND OF FLESH.

The adjournment was moved by Colonel C. Lowther (C.U.) in order to bring the question of indemnities before the House. He was supported by a goodly number of coupon bearers, filled with indignation at the very thought of Germany not being bled to death. Mr Bonar Law held out no hope to them that all the desired millions would be forthcoming.

RUSSIA

Colonel Hoare (C.U.) referred to a peace offer which "two distinguished Americans" now in Paris had brought from Lenin to the Allies. He warned the Government against having any traffic with those Bolsheviki! Mr. Bonar Law said he did not "think there was the shadow of a foundation" for the said report. Everyone knows now that a peace offer does exist. The great four are keeping Mr. Bonar Law in the dark it seems!

"MISCONDUCT"

April 3rd.—Mr. Churchill announced that a decision had been arrived at whereby soldiers, including conscientious objectors who have completed a total of two years' imprisonment, will be "discharged from the Army for misconduct." Was there ever such irony!

"SOME" LINEN.

People who during the war have been unable to procure linen, will be glad to hear that the Air Ministry has about 40,000,000 yards to clear. Cost price 1*s.* 8*d.* and 3*s.* 0½*d.*; 1*s.* a yard *now* offered. It is only another instance of the business ability of modern Governments.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Only one woman has been appointed on the Old Age Pension Committee, the other fifteen are men. Does the Government fear that the misfortunes likely to come to light during this inquiry will be too much for a woman's feelings?

IRELAND.

A whole debate was devoted to repeating the old story with few variations. Mr. T. P. O'Connor (Nat.) opened it with a detailed speech on Irish wrongs. The only new elements were those contributed by Sir E. Carson and the new Chief Secretary. Carson said that no one now was in favour of the Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book, and that "he was waiting thirty years for Home Rule" and was now going to work for reconstruction, especially the improvement of educational facilities. These as we all know are a disgrace in Ireland. Mr. Macpherson whilst making no promises to Ireland admitted that housing conditions "*are a disgrace to civilisation.* ....They are the allies of Bolshevism and Sinn Fein"! With a little more insight into the rule of Great Britain in Ireland he will give up the ghost, if he has any self respect.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

April 4th.—When Mr. Adamson (Lab.) introduced a Bill to give votes to women at twenty-one—a Bill which had difficulty in obtaining a second reading—one felt that Westminster was more antiquated than ever! It is all past history now! Advanced women are so disgusted with the Parliamentary machine that they wish to see it superseded not perpetuated. Above all they surely will not countenance Mr. Adamson begging for this right on the ground of good services. Let us get on with the new world and leave these fossils to amuse themselves; one cannot take them seriously.

M. O'C.

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Chair: MARGARET MACMILLAN.
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WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.
ANNUAL MEETING will be held SUNDAY, APRIL 13th, at 2.30 p.m. in the Council Room, A.S.E. Institute, Stanley Street, Wicker.
AGENDA:
FINANCIAL STATEMENT.
RE-ELECTION OF OFFICERS.
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Chair: Miss S. PANKHURST.

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